K Reynolds's Political Writers
London

THE OCCASIONAL WRITER.

NUMB. IV.

CONTAINING A

CONVERSATION

On the present CRISIS of

PUBLICK AFFAIRS.

Suscipienda quidem Bella, ob eam Causam, ut sine Injuria in Pace vivatur.

TULL. de Offic.

——*Non illi quisquam se impune tulisset Obvius armato.* VIRG.

LONDON:

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TO THE

CITIZENS

OF

LONDON,

This PIECE is dedicated,

BY

Their moſt obedient Servant,

The OCCASIONAL WRITER.

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Publick Affairs,

SOME Years are paſs'd away ſince an Author under this Title appear'd in the World. He was prevented at that Time from purſuing his Animadverſions on publick Meaſures, by much abler Pens. The preſent Criſis of publick Affairs has animated the Author of this Eſſay to renew that Manner of Writing. Some ſmall Scribblers, when the *three* firſt *Occaſional Writers* were publiſh'd, obſerving their Succeſs, cribb'd their Title; this *petty Larceny* was eaſily forgiven them ſince they could take nothing elſe, and were obliged to

ſteal that they might eat. However, this induces us to adverti ſe our Readers, that this is only the *fourth Occaſional Writer.* It was indeed a little to be apprehended that without this neceſſary Notification, nothing but the Title would be read.

The following Pages were occaſion'd by a Converſation which really happen'd not many Months ago in the *City*; they contain, as fully as my Memory will carry it, a Summary of what was then ſaid. I have choſen to mark thoſe who ſpeak, under feign'd Characters, I mean no perſonal Affront to any Man, and therefore I may with Reaſon hope no Perſon will be ſo injuſt to himſelf, or to me, to be offended.

I have been a Looker on, for ſome Years paſt, at the great publick, political Play-Table; I have obſerved the ſeveral Gameſters of *Europe*; I have ſeen the Cards ſhuffled and cut and play'd into one another's Hands; I have apprehended, from the Uſe I have ſeen made of ſome publick *Conventions*, that our Neighbours play'd all the Game, and that we ſeem'd ſometimes to be enter'd into Engagements, as young Country Heirs are introduced into the Acquaintance and Friend-ſhip of Town Sharpers, and for much the ſame Purpoſes.

I have ſometimes imagined too, (perhaps out of an Overweening for the Honour of my Country) that it has not on many Occaſions been treated with a Regard due to the Empire of *Great Britain*. The Ballance of Power, which we formerly boaſted, ſeems to have ſlipp'd from our own, into other Hands; nay, ſome People preſume to ſay, we have it not in our Power to throw a ſingle Grain into the Scale. But let the preſent moſt formidable and prodigious *Naval Armament*, fully convince the whole *Maritim* World at leaſt, that We are yet worthy of ſome Conſideration among Mankind; and moſt certainly, if our great Guns are ſuffer'd to ſpeak, we may make thoſe who have inſulted us feel the Weight of our Arguments, and oblige 'em by Force to make us ample Reſtitution for the Injuries we have received, and to reſtore to us likewiſe the antient Weight and Dignity that we once held among the Nations.

I dropp'd, the other Day, (while theſe Reflections were rolling in my Head,) into a *Coffe-houſe* near the *Royal-Exchange*; where the Citizens venture ſometimes to diſcover, with Freedom, their Sentiments on publick Affairs; this was formerly the Mode, but is now quite out of Faſhion at the other

End of the Town. I ſeated myſelf, with great Pleaſure, among a Groupe of Men, celebrated for two Things which do not frequently meet together, WEALTH and INTEGRITY. Their Underſtandings were likewiſe inrich'd, with that beſt Sort of Knowledge, the uſeful Knowledge of the World; they had, moſt of them, reſided in the ſeveral Countries to which they traded, and brought home with them what both inrich'd and improved their own. Very unlike our young *Roman Itinerants*, who fly over Mountains, Seas and Lands to the great *Nicknackatory* to purchaſe Baubles, are the common Prey of common Sharpers, and bring nothing home again but themſelves and ſuch Trifles.

There were ſeated, at the Bottom of the Table, two or three Perſons, whom I found the Merchants treated as *Lions*, with the loweſt Contempt, and a Sort of grave Ridicule; for Ridicule is never ſtronger than when conceal'd in Gravity.——Nor were they in the leaſt terrify'd, at the Sight of theſe Beaſts, from communicating their Thoughts with Chearfulneſs and Freedom. As they were preparing to ſpeak, *Furio* enter'd, or rather burſt into the Room, with a moſt triumphal Air and much Emotion and Importance

tance in his Muſcles.—— Well Gentlemen, (ſays he) you have heard the News, I preſume, glorious News indeed! There is no extraordinary Information come to us, ſaid *Virginius*, but good News will always be agreeable; prythee cry'd *Saccharo*, interrupting him, let *Furio* diſcharge or he will burſt.——Your News Sir? Your News?——*Peace and the Butt*, (reply'd *Furio*) *Peace and the Butt*. The Olive-Branch is arrived, We have a glorious and a laſting *Peace* concluded, the Treaty is juſt now ſign'd, ſeal'd and ratify'd by the *Spaniard*. Truely, truely ſaid *Bottomre*, with a dry Air, this is good News if it prove authentick, but I beg leave to imagine you cannot be well aſſured this is a laſting Peace, ſince you ſay it is but juſt now made.—— Ah, cry'd *Furio*, *Antiminiſterial that!* quite *Malecontentiſh!* I know nothing will pleaſe you that portends Good to the Nation or the Government.——I believe you are a *Jacobite*. They all join'd to intreat him not to call Names, and promiſed him, on that Condition, they would hear his News and believe as much of it, as they could. When *Virginius*, ſmiling, with his uſual plain and ſimple Candor and Perſpicuity, ſaid, In my Opinion, Sir, you have done a very bold Thing,

Thing, and have proclaim'd a Peace here before there has been any Declaration of War. There is, we know, a glorious Naval Armament ſail'd to the *Mediterranean* and the *Weſt Indies*, beſides what remains at Home and is neceſſary to guard our Coaſts. The Adminiſtration has hitherto, hath ſo far ſeconded the Reſolutions of both Houſes of Parliament; we ſeem at laſt to be rouſed from that ſupine and lethargic Indiſpoſition for Action which has invaded us for many Years. I ſhould, Sir, heartily rejoice with you if I could believe your News, tho' it ſhould prove true was fit to be rejoiced at; that is, if I could promiſe to myſelf, or the Nation any Good from a Peace in this Manner huddled and ſtruck up on a ſudden without any Action. And yet I confeſs, I ſhould by no Means be ſurprized to hear that our haughty Enemy, at the immediate and ſudden Senſe of the Danger he is in, had received a *Panick*, and frighted at the Sight of this terrible Armado, conceded to any Terms. No, not if he ſhould ſign a *Chart blanche* and give us a Power to fill up a Skin of Vellum with our own Articles, and to guarantee it in what Manner we pleaſed. For as ſuch a Treaty muſt be apparently the Child of Fear only, it could not be long lived, it would not

not be long held ſacred. Men under Apprehenſions are a Sort of Priſoners for the Time their Fears poſſeſs them, and the Securities they give like Bonds made by People in Durance are held not to be valid in Honour or Law. A Treaty therefore of this Kind ſhould be ſo contrived to *execute it ſelf*, as was ſaid ſome Years ago on a like Occaſion; beſides when the Occaſion that created and exacted this placid Treaty is removed, that is, when our Fleets are returned Home and laid up in our Harbours, would they not venture once more, ſince they came off with Impunity, (at the Price of a few Words only) to inſult and rob us; the Affront will never be forgotten or forgiven by them, as they ſay among your Blades of nice Honour, ſhaking a Cane over a Man's Head is the ſame Affront as actually caning him; and calls for the ſame Reſentment and Chaſtiſement.

But let us reflect, Gentlemen, what have been the Fruits of our former pacifick Fleets, and gather from the Conduct of the *Spaniards* then, what we are to expect now.

At the Treaty of *Cambray*, which I think was in the Year 1724, *Great Britain* and *France* were Mediators between the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, when ſuddenly,

ly, and to the Surprize of every Body, the Treaty of *Vienna* came forth, and we were aſſured at that Time that the ſending back the *Infanta* from *France* was the immediate Cauſe which threw the King of *Spain* into the Arms of the Emperor. Our Miniſters were extreamly terrify'd and fill'd with moſt dreadful Apprehenſions; this Union between *Vienna* and *Madrid* was unforeſeen and full of Horror, it was, it ſeems, impregnate with ſeveral ſecret and tremendous Articles; (which have proved ſince to be all imaginary,) theſe private Articles were ſaid to be as follow; That the King of *Spain* ſhould ſupport the Emperor in the *Oſtend Trade*; That the Emperor ſhould help *Spain* to wreſt *Gibraltar* out of our Hands, That they both jointly engaged to make an Attempt in favour of the *Pretender*, and that a Marriage ſhould be concluded between the eldeſt *Caroline* Arch-Dutcheſs and *Don Carlos*. This was the Foundation of the Treaty of *Hanover*. The *Treaty of Vienna* occaſion'd that counter Allyance, and glorioufly threw us into the Arms of *France*. This likewiſe was the Occaſion of our cauſing three large Squadrons to be forthwith equipp'd, one of which was ſent under the Command of Admiral *Hoſier* to the *Weſt Indies*,

Indies, with extraordinary *perſuaſive* Orders to lie before *Portobella* and block up the Galleons; but the *Spaniards* not being to be brought out by *perſuaſive Force*, our Admiral continued on this unwholſome Station, till his Ships were deſtroy'd by the Worm, his Proviſions were waſted, his Men periſh'd by Thouſands in the moſt miſerable Manner, and he himſelf underwent the ſame Fate.

After this, Preliminaries for a general Pacification were ſign'd in 1727, a Congreſs was held at *Soiſſons*, which, after they had conſumed ſix Months in Compliments, Feaſts and Balls, broke up without doing any Thing farther. However a proviſional Treaty was now form'd, which after having been much bragg'd of, and applauded by its Parents, died without any Iſſue.

And now, freſh Diſputes ariſing, it was reſolved that military naval Preparations ſhould be renew'd; accordingly ſoon after, there appear'd at *Spithead* a powerful united Fleet of *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Ships of War; ſome extraordinary Enterprize was ſuppoſed by every Body to be on the Tapis, but every one was diſappointed, they remain'd the whole Summer in that Station in the moſt pacifick Diſpoſition imaginable, they ſaluted,

and treated in the moſt gallant Manner all their Viſitors, who were numerous; they had Carouſals for the good Fellows and Balls for the Ladies; and thus having lived in the moſt jovial Manner and fired away great Quantities of rejoicing and complimental Gunpowder, the *Hollander* ſail'd home with flying Colours, and we unrigg'd and went quietly to Bed. But we may remember ſome (malicious People no Doubt) gave out, that the *Dutch* Squadron was not deſign'd at firſt to make a Shew with us at *Spithead*, but to deter the *Dane* from ſupporting his *Altena* Company, and that they were neither victual'd nor provided for a farther Expedition, had we ſhew'd ourſelves in a fighting Humour.

There was after this; ——Oh wonderful! a third *pacifick Armado*; pacifick is too low an Epithet; there was a third glorious, complimental, courtly Navy, and this was occaſion'd by the Treaty of *Seville*; a famous Treaty which ſucceeded thoſe of *Vienna* and *Hanover*. For you are to know, Gentlemen, we have lately run a Treaty-making round the Globe, ſome think in a ſtrange wild Way; but this is owing to a moſt prodigious modern Genius, who is the greateſt Manufacturer in this Kind, that has

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ariſen in our Days. This laſt Treaty was made, as we have been told, principally to ſecure to *Don Carlos* the Succeſſion to his *Italian* Dominions, and to fix and ſecure a ſolid and laſting Tranquility in *Europe*; by this Treaty we engaged to convoy the *Spaniſh* Troops and the Prince himſelf into *Italy*. Did we not perform this courtly Compliment with all the Addreſs, Expence and Gallantry that became a polite and well-bred People? How unfortunate we have been, after all our wiſe Endeavours, not to eſtabliſh Peace, and how gratefully we have been rewarded by the *Spaniard*, the whole World is a Witneſs.

Thus, Gentlemen, you ſee, in the Space of a few Years, we have, to the Aſtoniſtment of the whole World, fitted out no leſs than three moſt prodigious, coſtly, *pacifick*, naval Armaments; the firſt an *Oratorial*, or *perſuading* Fleet; the ſecond, a *merry drinking*, *dancing Squadron*; the third a *complimental Armado*; all innocent and harmleſs as painted Thunder.

If this Force was from Time to Time deſign'd for farther Purpoſes, as I do not doubt but it was, and to let our Neighbours ſee that we have it in our Inclinations as well as in our Power to make a ſolid Peace in *Eu-*

Pope when we pleaſe, and to reſent our Wrongs and vindicate our Rights; yet I am afraid the Conſequence has proved that it has had, that it has at this Hour, quite contrary Effects.

The crafty, aged *Politician*, whoſits at the Helm and directs the Affairs of our ever formidable Neighbour in Trade and Power, tho' now on the extream Verge of Life, looks cooly on, and fancies he beholds us in a low Condition; he imagines perhaps that he ſees us declining in our Commerce, increaſing in our Debts, decreaſing in our Credit, divided into Parties, merged in Corruption, diſſolved in Luxury, loaded with Taxes, fetter'd by Treaties, the People not in Love with the Adminiſtration, nor over much inclined to truſt or to aſſiſt it. Among theſe and other Diſadvantages under which he may conceive we labour, he may be very well pleaſed to obſerve us, as he imagines, doing the Buſineſs he wiſhes to have done, and haſtening to periſh by our own proper Hands. And yet notwithſtanding all this, I do believe he would be alarm'd to ſee the old *Engliſh Lion* actually rouſed, to hear our Thunder ſhaking the Battlements of our Enemies Towers, ſinking their Ships, ſeizing their Treaſures, and doing ourſelves Juſtice by thoſe Means

which

which God and Nature have intruſted us with, not at all waiting for any partial *Mediation*, or ſtanding in Awe of the Reſentment of any crafty *Mediatrix*. Might not vigorous Meaſures, like theſe, ſhake the Steadineſs of his *Eminency's* Tranquility, and perhaps oblige him to alter his Policy? He would ſurely be very loth, he would reluctantly be brought into a War with us. He ſaw the fatal Effects of the laſt grand Confederacy; he knows the Bravery and Power of the *Engliſh* Nation; he is quite ſenſible that it is the Intereſt of all the *European* Powers to prevent *France* from being their Sovereign; and that Allyances on all Sides would be form'd to oppoſe ſuch an Attempt in its firſt Operations. He has, by a wiſe and wary Adminiſtration, raiſed his Country from that low and exhauſted Condition it was reduced to, during the late Regency; and from the calamitous Conſequences of War and Famine, into a once more great and flouriſhing Kingdom. Will he, if he can avoid it, hazard this glorious Work of his on the Accidents of War? No, no, the cool ſagacious Stateſman waits a better Time. If he imagines that the only Rival he has to fear is waſting in a Conſumption, will he not attend till the Diſtemper has done the

good Work for him? Let us then convince him that we are not yet ſo much enfeebled; he ſees we have Arms in our Hands, let us make him ſenſible that we dare uſe them. Let us by ſome glorious Action convince our Enemies that we are in earneſt; and that this ſhall not be the fourth *pacifick* Armado that we have equipp'd *in Terrorem* only. Let us firſt make Repriſals, and then ballance the Account.

And now, as I hope it is very far from my natural Diſpoſition, I beg what I have ſaid may not be miſconſtrued, as if I were inclined to warm and ſanguinary Meaſures rather than peaceable ones; I give my Opinion to the beſt of my Judgment, and my Judgment tells one, from the known, from the paſt and preſent Practice of the *Spaniard*, that nothing elſe will bind or make any laſting Impreſſion on him; that we have no other Way left to ſecure our Trade and reſtore our Credit.

For Example Sake, let us ſuppoſe a Peace now actually concluded, or a new Treaty made; and, as this Gentleman has proclaim'd it, on the moſt advantageous Terms. In Conſequence of this, our Fleets return home in Triumph, our Seamen are disbanded, our Ships are laid up, and ſo are the

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Apprehenſions of the *Spaniards*; they find all is ſafe, (let me repeat ſomewhat of what I ſaid juſt now) it muſt be ſome Time, ſays the Enemy, before we can receive another Viſit of this Sort; well, they venture once more to renew their Inſults, their Depredations, their Injuries of every Kind; our Merchants likewiſe renew their Complaints; they again petition, remonſtrate, and apply to the Government ſucceſsfully, as before; a new Fleet is fitted out, at a new and a prodigious Expence; the *Spaniard*'s Ague Fits return, (and not wholly depending on a Cure from the *Jeſuits Bark*) they renew their Treaty, and graciouſly give you, if you inſiſt upon it, greater Promiſes and ſtronger Aſſurances than before. May not this be done, *ſingulis Annis*, till we have neither Money, nor Men, nor Credit left in the World that can be of any Uſe to us; when we ſhall be ſunk in our Courage as well as our Wealth; and this glorious Kingdom (which once held the Ballance of *Europe*, and unambitious herſelf of extending her Dominion or Power, ſupported, not only her own but the Liberty of Mankind) become a Scorn ond a By-word among the Nations? What have our worſt, our moſt implacable Enemies to wiſh more than this? But, Gentlemen,

tlemen, if we make the *Spaniard* feel, if we give him Cauſe to remember the Effects of our Power, we ſhall keep him humble, and make him juſt for his own Sake; we ſhall then give him Arguments that muſt convince him, that no Alliance can ſcreen him, and no Power ſupport him. This, in my poor Opinion, is to be done now; this is the *Criſis*, the very *Criſis*; if this Opportunity of making *Repriſals* ſhall be neglected, of making *Repriſals* with our own Hands, and reſtoring to our Merchants whatever they have been robb'd of, we ſhall probably never have another, and the peaceable Fleets we ſhall fit out for the future will be ſo many Goblins, ſhadows only, a Sort of warlike Appearances; and when they diſappear, will be ſcouted and ridculed as idle Dreams.

Here *Virginius* was ſilent; *Furio*, red hot with what he had heard, would have reply'd, but his Choler, to the Benefit of himſelf and the Company, prevented his Articulation; when *Curio*, who ſat next to him, carry'd on the Converſation in the following Manner.

I have attended, ſaid *Curio* to this Gentleman, with great Earneſtneſs, and with ſome Moderation; I was very well pleaſed to hear, in the Beginning of his very long

Declaration,

Declamation, that he had the Juſtice to confeſs a good Opinion of the Miniſtry. I do not in the leaſt doubt but in a little Time every honeſt *Briton* will join with him in that Opinion. Yet I think, from what we have now heard in this publick Place, that thoſe Miniſters who manage the Affairs of this Nation, let them be who they will, now or hereafter will hardly pleaſe ſome People; no, tho' they were divinely inſpired. Every one here judges, criticiſes, rails, derides, condemns; their Loſſes, their Vices, their Paſſions, their Crimes, their Misfortunes are all imputed to the Miniſter; he is the Scape Goat, he it is who is to anſwer for the Sins of the People.

There is a Story of a Peaſant in *France*, during the Adminiſtration of *Cardinal Mazarine*, who, as he rode along, mounted on a tired, a reſtiff, and a ſtumbling Mule, imputed all the Sins of his Beaſt to the Adminiſtration; at every falſe Step the *Animal* made, he cry'd out, *Damn the Cardinal*; when the Jade would not ſtir—*Rot the Cardinal*;—when he tumbled on his Head—*Curſe the Cardinal.* A Gentleman's Curioſity excited him to ask the Meaning of theſe unuſual Execrations on his *Eminence*, when his founder'd Mule ſeem'd to him to

be only to blame. The Fellow very ingenuouſly explain'd himſelf, and deduced the Queſtion thus. Sir, ſaid he, the *Cardinal* taxes us, his *Taxes* make Provender dear, the Dearneſs of Provender has obliged me to reduce the Commons of my Beaſt; this has made the Creature weak, and her Weakneſs makes her ſtumble. Who ſhould I curſe, Sir, but the *Cardinal?* This is the Caſe, the very Caſe of almoſt all who govern; all that happens amiſs, even from the moſt remote Cauſe, is imputed to them. When the Wheel of Government goes glibly round, 'tis very eaſy, they cry, to turn the Helm in quiet Waters; they do but their Duty; it is very well; they are paid for it.

But ſurely you muſt own, that altho' this Way of Judging may be cuſtomary among the Vulgar, it is not quite ſo decent in Perſons of Education, who are expected to think, and talk, and act in another Manner. Thoſe who confeſs themſelves to be intirely ignorant of the ſeveral Wheels of Government, of the ſecret Springs that move this great political Machine, are unpardonable to judge in this raſh inconſiderate Manner. If an ignorant Mariner ſhould by Noiſe and Mutiny, drive a skilful Pilot from his Helm, while he is guarding againſt a Storm, and

by

by this Violence occaſion the ſinking of the Ship, what Puniſhment would not ſuch a Wretch deſerve? But, as I hinted above, here every Man is a Cenſor over his Superiors, and we may, not improperly, apply what *Horace* ſays of Verſifiers to this Sort of *Coffee Politicians.*

Scribimus indocti, doctique Politica *Paſſim.*

But this Gentleman affirms that we could by no Means be ſafe, tho' the *Spaniards* ſhould give us our own Terms; now I affirm the contrary; one of us therefore is wrong; and yet I muſt tell you, Gentlemen, if inſolent and unbecoming Reflections and dogmatical Aſſertions are to be received and ſuffer'd to ſhut out Truth, every Word that *Virginius* has utter'd may be implicitly aſſented to.

'Till this can be aſſented to, you will give me Leave to differ from him—Tho' we reduce the Enemies, ſays he, to our own Terms, (and what our Terms are, or what they may be, he is intirely ignorant,) we are not ſafe; they will be of no Uſe to us, unleſs ſome previous Action makes 'em fear us; that is, we are immediately to fall on, like furious *Drawcanſirs*, and cut, hew, ſink,

burn and deſtroy all the *Spaniards* that ſhould be ſo very unfortunate to fall in our Way. This is very ſtrange, and more inhuman than the Practice of the *Spaniſh* Inquiſitors, who burn poor Creatures convicted of *Judaiſm*, tho' they renounce their Errors; the *Amende honorable* will not do, they muſt die—Aye, but a certain old Fox ſomewhere lies perdue, and ſees us going off in a Conſumption; he would be very well pleaſed to find us waſting our Wealth and our Power, by fitting out ſuch uſeleſs Armado's every Year. This Gentleman is the common Eccho of a Faction; the Malecontents, the Enemies of our Government, and the preſent glorious Adminiſtration, murmur continually in theſe very Terms. Alas! alas! their Zeal is without Knowledge; they are ſounding the Depth of Politicks without Plummet or Line. The *Spaniards*, we will ſuppoſe, do every Thing we deſire, repair the Loſſes of our Merchants, they make full Satisfaction for Violence and Barbarity, acknowledge our Right to navigate their Seas, renounce all Claim to our Colonies, and in a Word, do all we can pretend to, deſire and demand, and yet, it ſeems, this is not enough. Is not this ridiculous, and a little on the *Brogue*? What, ſhall we not be ſatisfy'd, tho' we

have Satisfaction? Do we ingeniouſly inſiſt on more than we deſire? Are we to inrol ourſelves in the Liſt of Madmen or Fools? We muſt be in the Number of the one or the other, if we follow this Gentleman's Scheme.

Believe me, we may ſit here and prate and blow a whiff over our Coffee, and conceive ourſelves to be moſt ſagacious Counſellors and Politicians of the greateſt Weight and Conſequence, while we have only, like ſo many *Quixotes*, erected ourſelves into theſe Characters by our own Conceit and Self-ſufficiency. We may canvaſs as long and as freely as we pleaſe the Conduct of our Superiors, with all the modern and becoming Liberty of true *Britons*; but truſt me, we are too ſhort-ſighted to look into the Depths and Intricacies of State Policies. You know not the Affairs of *Europe*, nor your own; you cannot at all diſcern in what Manner the ſeveral Intereſts of the States around us are interwoven; how they coincide, what Obligations bind, what do not, how the Ballance of Trade depends. Are you not all fully ſenſible that we can by no Means prevent the running of our Wooll, that ſtaple Commodity of the Nation? Hath not the *Britiſh* Parliament employ'd all their Care

and

and Wiſdom to find a Remedy that might cure this Evil? Have they not been unſucceſsful? Is this too to be imputed to the Pilot? Since then it is evident, that your Ignorance only is the Mother of your Indevotion to the preſent Adminiſtration, let me adviſe you to open your Eyes, that no partial Interpoſitions of imaginary Objects may miſguide you through a falſe Medium. Take my Advice then; leave the Care and Regulation of the Springs and Wheels of this political Machine to our Superiors, whom it moſt concerns; and let us, like good Subjects, be contented to take our Fate as Paſſengers in the Ship, under the proper Government of thoſe Officers who command it. All the reſt is Faction, downright Faction, and Party Rage. I had almoſt forgot to take Notice of one material Argument in that Gentleman's Oration; he has appear'd extremely wiſe in the Knowledge of Treaties, and has given us a learned Deduction of ſeveral modern ones, and would repreſent our Treaties to have been uſeleſs and ridiculous, as well as our pacifick Squadrons; as if he was in the ſecret Tranſactions of all our Conventions. Surely he muſt have heard that there are ſeveral Sorts of Treaties; there are *Oſtenſible* and *Non-Oſtenſible* Treaties; the

Non-

Non-Oſtenſible Conventions may, for aught *Virginius* knows, ſet every Thing to right, which appear to him to be wrong by the *Oſtenſible* ones. If this Gentleman was in the Cabinet, he would moſt certainly inſtruct us how and in what Manner the World was to be govern'd. Had he been a *Miniſter* ten Years ago, we might, by this Time, tho' we enjoy'd the Bleſſing of a ſucceſsful War, have had the Bleſſing likewiſe of ſeeing the Nation running forty or fifty Millions more in Debt. I ſhall conclude with hoping that all ſober and ſenſible Men will ſubmit to the Wiſdom of their Superiors, and not, in the Heat of Party Rage, becauſe we have ſuffer'd a few Loſſes, think it adviſeable to knock our own, or our Neighbours Heads againſt Stone Walls, leſt we fall into that Cenſure which *Cicero* beſtows on thoſe who are unjuſtly and unreaſonably angry; and that which we deſire ſhould be imputed to a true Senſe of Honour and juſt Reſentment of Indignities, ſhould appear to be only Moroſeneſs and mean Revenge. But let me finiſh what I have ſaid, in *Tully*'s own Words; let us temper our unſeaſonable Rage. *Ne, ſi iraſcamur aut intempeſtive accidentibus, aut impudenter rogantibus, in Moroſitatem inutilem, aut odioſam incidamus.*

Thus

Thus ended *Curio.*——There appear'd in the Company a Sort of grumbling Murmur, mingled with a contemptuous Smile, at ſome Expreſſions which *Curio* dropp'd; when *Virginius*, a little heated by what had been ſaid, which gave a Glow to his Features and a Warmth to his Expreſſions, begg'd Leave to reply.

Tho' I own, ſaid he, that I am much obliged to *Curio* for his Attention and Moderation; yet I muſt be ſo ingrateful to ſay, that if his Reflection through the Whole of his Speech had been equal to his Moderation at the Beginning of it, a great Part of his ingenious Oration might have been ſpared.

He is pleaſed to applaud me for the good Opinion I profeſs to have of the *Miniſtry*; and that he is ſure in a little Time every one will be in the ſame Opinion. This is a bold Aſſertion; but it is hardly fair to bring that Gentleman into the Queſtion we do not deſign to diſpute with him; who, if he does not command, has an Intereſt in many *golden Legions.* He goes on and tells us, Nobody can pleaſe every Body; we are obliged to him for this admirable Diſcovery. He likewiſe informs us, that a Miniſter is the Scape Goat, and is to be ſacrificed for the Sins of the People; yet, *non obſtante*, this

Aſſertion

Aſſertion of my Friend, I fancy if *Miniſters* in general were to anſwer for their own particular Sins only, the People would be more content, and look upon it now and then as the moſt grateful *Peace-offering*.

As to his facecious old Story of the *Peaſant* and *Cardinal Mazarine*, I cannot help thinking, if his Judgment had come up to a fourth Part of his Conceit, he would never have reported it, ſince it happens to be a Caſe in Point againſt him. He, by this ingenious Tale means, if any Thing is meant, to render ridiculous the common Complaints of the Vulgar againſt their Rulers; and to ſhew that their Murmurs were frequently without Ground or Foundation. Now this happens to be quite the reverſe, and was really the Cauſe that occaſion'd the poor Fellow's Mule to ſtumble. Oppreſſion deſcends a great Way down, and is felt in the extremeſt and minuteſt Parts of the Conſtitution; when People are overloaden with their Burden, they will ſtumble, they murmur, they look up to the Hand from whence their Oppreſſion proceeds, and utter their Complaints aloud; yet we are to know that this ſame *Cardinal Mazarine* was a very wicked Miniſter, as wicked as any Age or Country that preceded him had ever

felt; however, he may have fallen ſhort in Iniquity of ſome who have ſucceeded him.

Ætas Parentum, nos, pejor Avis
Nequiores tulit, mox daturos
Progeniem Vitioſiorem. HOR.

But to go on with this Gentleman, whom I find it ſomewhat difficult to trace through the Mazes of looſe, low, and irregular Notions. We ought to take Care, ſays he, how we drive a *wiſe* and *skilful* Pilot from the Helm. This, Sir, is begging the Queſtion; begging it in the moſt low and ſhameful Manner. How would you have me anſwer? Would you draw me in to affirm that our Pilot is not wiſe nor skilful? Indeed you muſt excuſe me; I would go a little Way to obey you; but this is too much.

Aye, Sir, but every Body in *England* is turn'd Politician; we ſeem to be a Nation of Stateſmen; all People here take the Liberty to write and talk with Impunity, and think *ad libitum*. I am very well pleaſed to hear it, and ſhould be more ſo, if his News were true; this would be a Mark of Liberty, perhaps as great a one as any we have left. It is not here as yet, thank Heaven, as it is on the other Side of the Strait of *Dover*, when

a *Lettre de Cachette* ſeizes on a poor heedleſs Fellow, who perhaps, in a giddy Hour, has utter'd the Sorrows of his Heart too freely, and now finds himſelf, when his Wine and his Courage are digeſted, incloſed within four Walls, without Benefit of *Habeas Corpus*, Judge, or Jury; and is releaſed, if not altogether forgotten, when the Miniſter pleaſes.

Curio tells me, in a moſt candid and decent Manner, that I utter *unbecoming* and *dogmatical Aſſertions*. I take his Compliments very kindly, and affirm, *e contra*, that I do not.

The Gentleman goes on, and publiſhes a new Doctrine, whereby he informs us, that we ought to pay an implicit Obedience and Submiſſion to the Meaſures of the Adminiſtration. I can only aſſure him, that this has not been the Practice for many Years in *England*; and I hope, with great Deference to his Doctrine, that it never will be. It is to this Freedom of Speech and the Liberty of the Preſs, that we owe our Deliverances from all our Oppreſſors, and the Enjoyment of all our religious and civil Rights. Prythee, *Curio*, do not talk us out of all the Bleſſings the Revolution gave us; give us Leave to ſpeak a little; if you do not, you will con-

tradict the good old Proverb you know, *which gives Loſers Leave.* But I muſt take the Liberty to repreſent to you (and when you cool, I hope you will thank me for my plain Dealing) that your Wit now and then, like a vicious Horſe, takes the Bit in his Teeth, and runs away with your Reaſon, which ſhould be his Rider. I did not expreſs myſelf, when I was talking of entring into Action before we treated with the *Spaniards*, in your *Tiperary* Diction, *that we deſired more than we demanded; and that we ſhould not be ſatisfy'd, tho' we had Satisfaction.* No, Sir, I ſaid it would be right, by ſome hoſtile Act, to make a laſting Impreſſion on the Enemy, and oblige him to a more punctual Regard to his *Leagues* for the future, that we might not be every Year at this prodigious Expence.

Well, *Curio* goes on; and *Curio* now cries aloud in his moſt pathetick Declamation that all is *Faction*, and looks on us all as *factious Malcontents.* Faction is a Word little underſtood, and much miſapply'd and miſconſtrued. If by *Faction*, or the *Factious*, we intend and generally mean, that Body of Men, or thoſe particular Perſons who frequently differ from, and oppoſe in a legal, juſt, and honourable Manner, the

Meaſures

Meaſures of the Adminiſtration, and yet remain, in every other Reſpect, dutiful to their Prince and obedient to the Laws, we confeſs ourſelves to be factious, very factious People; and let me inſtruct thee, *Curio*, that *Faction*, this Sort of *Faction*, is the Wind that ſtirs the Waters of Liberty, and prevents Corruption; it is like the oppoſing Fluids in the Animal Oeconomy, the Origin of Fermentation, and what ſupport and circulate the whole human Syſtem.

He has done me the Honour, before he concludes, to ſcout me in a particular Manner, for my Treaty Wiſdom. I have no Knowledge, I pretend to no Knowledge, but what proceeds from common Senſe, and the common Experience of Things; and from thence I will venture to publiſh what my Opinion of Treaties is, and what they are in general.

Treaties are a Sort of *Compacts*, or *Conventions*, Covenants and Agreements made among Princes, States and Nations, either to ſupport the weaker againſt the ſtronger, to uphold their mutual Intereſts, Titles, Projects, Pretenſions, or Claims, of any Sort whatſoever; or in general, to obviate and oppoſe all Incroachments on Dominion, Commerce, or Power; yet are not theſe Compacts

pacts any otherwiſe practicable, or any longer obſerved, or to be depended upon, than as they ſerve to maintain, uphold and ſecure the mutual Intereſts of the ſeveral contracting Powers. And this the Experience of all Ages has confirm'd; therefore it ought to be the particular Policy and Wiſdom of every Stateſman, ſo to form his Alliances and publick Engagements, that they may coincide with the Intereſts of all Perſons concern'd; and that they may all find it for their mutual Service and Benefit to ſuppport the Contracts they have enter'd into.

This may be eaſily and fully proved, if we give ourſelves the Trouble to look into the Hiſtory of Treaties; but ſurely it is not a Work of much Labour to prove it by our own modern Treaties, by thoſe very Stipulations, which, during this Converſation, I have already cited.

When *Gibraltar* was beſieged, it was ſtipulated, by the Treaty of *Hanover* beforemention'd, that the contracting Powers ſhould ſupport each other, in Caſe any of their Dominions ſhould be attack'd; therefore you ſee the Siege of *Gibraltar* ought to have been made, by our *French* Allies, a *Caſus Fœderis*; yet nothing of this Kind, nothing in the leaſt was ever done; the *French*

pretended

pretended indeed, that they were ready to march an Army into *Roſſillon*, and divert the Siege; but theſe were only Words, they obſerved an exact Neutrality, and were unconcern'd Spectators of the Danger and the Expence.

Nor did the *Emperor*, on the other Side, (as he was obliged to do) by the *Vienna* Treaty, give his *Catholick* Majeſty any Aſſiſtance; nor again did his *Catholick* Majeſty, as we have ever heard, ſupport the *Emperor*, in his Project for carrying on the *Oſtend* Trade, as he was bound to do by the very ſame Treaty. No, it appear'd not to have been the Intereſt of the contracting Powers, and ſo they took no Manner of Concern in what they did not deſign to execute.

I imagine, I have now demonſtrated that in political, as well as private Life, nothing but Intereſt is regarded; and that thoſe who are romantick, or weak enough in either, to give too much Credit, will moſt certainly be duped. As to this ingenious Gentleman's Learning, with Relation to *Oſtenſible* and *Non-Oſtenſible* Treaties, it would be too ridiculous to be noted; but as it is immediately ſtolen from the Mouths of his Maſters, and is Part of the Cant of ſome great publick Orators;

tors; but it would ſurely with more Decency become the Mouth of *Harlequin* in a Farce, than the ſerious Bambooſle of *political Mountebanks.*

Virginius was ſilent; *Plumby*, an old mercantile ſober Genius, regarded by his Friends in the City for his Judgment, Temper and Integrity, who had ſet quietly by during theſe Conferences, and attended with much Gravity, ſeem'd at laſt to have his Phlegm ſomewhat ſtirr'd, and laying down his Pipe, which he had been ſmoaking before with much Serenity, addreſs'd himſelf particularly to *Curio* and *Virginius*, in Words like theſe.

Few People have Courage, or Diſcernment enough to follow Reaſon; thoſe Paſſions, which they miſtake for Virtues, are frequently only an Aſſemblage of ſeveral Actions and Intereſts, which Fortune, or their own Vanity, have placed before them in a flattering Glaſs. Our real Virtues are loſt in Intereſt, as Rivers are ſwallow'd up in the Sea. Theſe are the Maxims of a wiſe and deep thinking *French* Moroliſt, and they recurr'd immediately to my Memery on hearing this paſſionate Debate; I call it paſſionate, not from a little Heat now and then made Uſe of in the Expreſſion; but

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from obſerving, that almoſt all the Ideas and Arguments, on both Sides, have been the immediate Iſſue of your Paſſions. You, *Virginius*, deliver your Sentiments like an angry Trader over-heated with your Loſſes, and ſeem to be a little inflamed, or out of Humour at leaſt, with your Superiors, whom you conceive ought to do you immediate Juſtice, and in your own Way and Manner. You, *Curio*, with equal Heat, ſeem *jurare in Verba Magiſtri*, and dogmatically affirm, that there is a Sort of implicit Submiſſion due to the Meaſures of a Miniſter. You are not, *Virginius*, ſo much afflicted for your Country as you ſeem to be; nor are you, *Curio*, ſo much a *Slave* as you pretend; no, there is a Sort of Pride, mix'd with Intereſt, that renders you both partial Judges in Affairs of this Sort; there is ſomething, I know not how to call it, whimſical, or ſilly, in the Conduct of moſt People, on both Sides; you are nick-named a *Patriot*, and you an *Anti-Patriot*, you a *Miniſtry*; you an *anti-miniſtry* Man; you are in the *Country*, you are in the *Court* Intereſt. Theſe unhappy Diſtinctions, moſt evidently demonſtrate the Misfortune of our preſent Diviſions.

If there ſhall be any, in the Adminiſtration of the Affairs of the Publick, who may be found guilty of Malverſation of any Kind, Treachery, Peculation, Bribery, Fraud, or any publick Crime; nay, if they ſhall be found to be wanting in Capacity to execute the Truſt repoſed in them, let us not bring a railing Accuſation againſt 'em, the Truth of which, perhaps, we are not aſſured of; no, let us enquire a legal and proper Way, let us join to petition, impeach, implead them by the Laws of the Land, and all thoſe honourable Methods which are practiſed in our Conſtitution.

On the other Side, let not thoſe in Power, tho' they ſhould be praiſe-worthy Servants of the Publick, faithful and able Miniſters, in the Service of their Prince and their Country; let them not ſend forth their *ſmall Creatures*, to gall the Wounds of a complaining People, tho' they ſhould unjuſtly complain; but if they complain becauſe they really feel, if they are wrong'd, and their Complaints are juſt, this would be an Inſult human Nature would be hardly able to ſupport; and we cannot wonder, in this Caſe, to ſee *Nature* rebel againſt *Principle*.

But there is, (I am a plain Dealer) there ſeems to me, to be ſome Vanity; a Sort of

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arrogant Importance diſcovers itſelf in many of your Sentiments. You, *Virginius*, by a ſevere Reprehenſion of the Meaſures of the Court, enjoy the Applauſes of your Fellow-Citizens. You, *Curio*, would increaſe your Favour with the Adminiſtration, and make this Oppoſition your Merit there; you would keep your *Popularity*; you your *Place*.

Thus thoſe Actions which you would repreſent to the World, under the great and ſhining Appearances of *Loyalty* and *Patriotiſm*, are only the Off-ſpring of Humour, Intereſt and Paſſion.

Virginius deſires, with Warmth and Impatience, (but with Reaſon too, and ſeconded by the Voice of the People) that our Commerce to the *Weſt Indies* may be ſecured, and Reſtitution made to our injured Merchants; but he will have it immediately, in his own Way, on his own Terms. *Curio* tells him, he has no Right to canvaſs this Matter at all, and aſſures him, that it is his Duty to have an implicit Faith in his Maſter.

May not this Affair be moderated between theſe two Gentlemen, who are in the ſame Intereſts, but in oppoſite Opinions? Can we not draw them ſomewhat nearer to one-another? Surely we might, if we could

prevail upon them to lay aſide their Prejudices, and to liſten to Reaſon.

I would venture to aſſure *Virginius*, that it would be quite as decent in his Character, to ſuppreſs a little thoſe violent Suſpicions which he entertains, that our Fleet will return without Action; I could wiſh he would conceal a little his dreadful Apprehenſions, that we ſhall be bubbled in ſome new Treaty; and tho' he may be as free as he pleaſes with Miniſters, for what they have done, it would be but prudent in him, not to cenſure them for *what they are to do*; ſince, if, after all, his Fears ſhould prove groundleſs; if a firm and a ſolid Peace ſhould be eſtabliſh'd according to his own Deſires, after ſome great and glorious Action. What would he ſay? How would he look? Might not the World take the Liberty to judge not very favourably of the Motives that produced his Fears?

I wiſh likewiſe that I could perſuade *Curio* not to be ſo ſanguine, or ſecure on the Succeſs of his Maſter's Meaſures; becauſe if it ſhould ſo happen that there ſhould be no Action, if no ſatisfactory Treaty ſhould be made, if this expenſive and well-man'd Fleet ſhould return home without doing the Buſineſs which it is generally ſuppoſed it

was

was ſent abroad to do, his Doctrine of implicit Obedience to the Meaſures of Miniſters might immediately fall to the Ground, and peradventure with the moſt fatal Conſequences. The Credit both of himſelf and his Friends would ſink together; and what is yet worſe, his *Place* and his *Maſter* (the *Miniſter*) too might both totter.

You will permit me, Gentlemen., before I conclude, to give you, what every one parts with very freely, a little more moral Advice. They tell us, Truth itſelf has not done ſo much Good in the World, as the Appearances of it have done Evil; a wiſe Man therefore ſhould conſtantly endeavour to ſubdue and regulate his Intereſts and Paſſions, that thus having diveſted himſelf of all Prejudice and Prepoſſeſſion, he may judge himſelf with the ſame Equality that he judges his Neighbours; he will then view his own and the Affairs of the World, relating to himſelf, in a ſimple, plain and quite different Light from that in which they appear'd before.

This Converſation, as we may imagine, has been maintain'd with Temper; it has not, I own, been carried on with that unnatural Heat which I have ſeen in ſome Party-Diſputes; but our Paſſions have been con-

conſulted more than our Reaſon. Self-Love is the greateſt Flatterer; the wiſeſt Man, he who has ſearch'd himſelf with the greateſt Sincerity, and made the largeſt Diſcoveries on his own Weakneſs and Errors, will ſtill leave a *Terra in cognita*; then ſurely, if every Man, during theſe Conferences, had heard, with a diſintereſted and impartial Ear; that is, if he had probed himſelf, and throwing off his Vanity, had only deſign'd to diſcover Truth, we ſhould not have ſeen each Side ſo precipitate, zealous and full of Fire; ſo deſirous of pleaſing themſelves by receiving the Applauſe of the Audience, without conſidering, that to appear to be very deſirous to pleaſe ourſelves, is the worſt Way in the World to pleaſe, or to perſuade others. To ſum up the Weole, my Opinion is (for I will venture to give it you at laſt) that the Good of the Publick, that is, the Good of all of us, is moſt heartily wiſh'd and deſired by all of us; and muſt be ſo, if we deſire and wiſh for our Preſervation and well-being; nor do I think there can or will be the leaſt Obſtruction to our Demand of immediate Juſtice from our Enemy the *Spaniard*; I will venture to call him ſo, tho' there has been no Declaration of War that I know of; I think as *Virginius* does, that

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we ought not only to demand, but, on Refuſal of Juſtice, to try, by vigorous Meaſures, to do ourſelves Right; or we ought to renounce our Title to Sovereignty for ever, nor ever after be number'd among the Nations. Nor do I abſolutely think that this Delay, which a good deal terrifies the Publick, does proceed (as I have heard) from the Apprehenſions of any perſonal Misfortune, which may happen to any *Servant* of the *Publick*, if the War ſhould break forth with Violence; tho', to ſpeak out of *Romance*, he muſt be a poor Creature indeed, who would not venture a good deal, rather than ruin his Country. We have been already almoſt deſtroy'd by Delay; the War is neceſſary, juſt and univerſally call'd for; and in one Word, it is moſt certain, that at this Time, and on this Occaſion, *Vox Populi*, *Vox eſt Dei*; and I verriy believe, that no Miniſter that ever breath'd in *England*, and had loſt the good Opinion of his Fellow-Subjects, ever had ſuch an Opportunity, I will not ſay to recover, but to gain Popularity.

But if there be any guilty Wretch, or *Anti-Curtius*, who has devoted his Country, inſtead of himſelf, to Perdition; a Caitiff, who trembles at loſing a few Hours of an almoſt worn-out and abandon'd Life, rather

than ſave a ſinking Nation; a *Creature* ſo couragious, yet ſo daſtardly; ſo puſilanimous, yet ſo raſh, not to fear the accumulated Rage of a moſt injured People, may the Execrations of a moſt injured People light on his Head, and prevent his Meaſures. *Let his Enemy perſecute his Soul and take it; yea, let him tread his Life down upon the Earth, and lay his Honour in the Duſt.*

And now before I conclude (I hope you will not think I act the Part of a *Moderator immoderately*) I ask your Patience for one Word farther; ſince, as I have ſaid, we all intend the general Welfare, and our Heads ſeem at this Criſis to be full of Schemes for promoting it, I ſhould be glad to hear, ſuppoſing *Curio* and *Virginius* had both the Honour to be made *Plenipotentiaries*, how they would form their different Preliminaries for ſettling a general Pacification.

Curio, without the leaſt Heſitation accepted this Propoſal, and ventured to affirm he could draw up *preliminary Articles* himſelf, that would ſatisfy the whole World. All the Company join'd in begging him, if he could, to recollect ſome of them immediately; when, after heming and rubbing his Temples a Minute or two, to make them forth coming, he began in this Manner.

1. That

1. That we ſhould conſent to the Recalling our Fleets from the *Mediterranean* and the *Weſt Indies*; becauſe Armaments of this Sort are very improper to forward Accomodations between the two Courts, and becauſe 'tis moſt likely his *Catholick* Majeſty will not enter into any Treaty, while a naval Armament remains on his Coaſt, leſt what Conceſſions he ſhould make might be interpreted to proceed rather from *Fear* than *Juſtice*.

2. That after our Fleets are return'd, Commiſſaries ſhall be appointed on both Sides, for diſcuſſing and examining the Grievances of both Nations.

3. To agree that the Limits of their reſpective Dominions in *America* ſhall remain in *Statu quo*, or *uti poſſidetis*.

4. That Conferences ſhall be held on the ſame Footing as thoſe by the Treaty of *Seville* in the Year 1729; that the Pretenſions of both Nations may be fairly examined, to diſtinguiſh what is lawful Prize, and what is not.

5. And whereas, by the Treaty of *Hanover*, a League offenſive and defenſive is concluded between his moſt *Chriſtian* Majeſty and the King of *Great Britain*; his moſt

Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall be humbly deſired to act as Mediator between both Courts.

6. As a ſixth Preliminary, that all Pretenſions, or Claims to *Gibraltar*, or *Port-Mahon*, or any of our Colonies in *America* ſhould be renounced for ever, and remain as by former Treaties.

7. That our Merchants Ships trading to and from our Colonies in the *Weſt Indies*, ſhall not be obliged to ſail in a direct or preſcribed Road, becauſe, altho' the King of *Spain* may lay Claim to the Sovereignty of thoſe Seas in *America*, neither he nor the King of *Great Britain*, can command the Winds, or the Weather.

8. That our Commerce be reſtored, free and favour'd with the moſt favour'd Nations.

9. That his moſt *Chriſtan* Majeſty ſhall be apply'd to, to guaranty the Treaty.

Here are your Articles, cry'd *Curio*, in an exulting Air; every Thing taken Care of, all your Grievances redreſs'd, your Trade ſecured, your Honour, your Loſſes, reſtor'd and your Injuries redreſs'd, your Limits ſettled, your Colonies ſafe, and every Thing you ask.

When *Plumby* and the reſt of the Company taking no other Notice of *Curio's Spaniſh* Articles,

Articles, than what proceeded from a contemptible Silence, desired *Virginius* to open his Scheme. *Virginius*, with some Uneasiness in his Features, which expres'd his Reluctance under the Question, reply'd,

I am really weary of this fruitless Altercation; we are apt, I am sensible of it, to speak with too much Warmth; even he, who cooly censured us for it, in spite of Phlegm and Philosophy, was just now catch'd himself; yet will I not decline, since I am enter'd so far, tho' perhaps unadvisedly, into this Dispute. I will not decline publishing my Sentiments. I will venture to declare what, in my Opinion, ought to be the *Basis* of a general Pacification. I humbly hope neither my Fellow-Citizens, nor my Superiors, will think I do this out of any Self-sufficiency, or Conceit of my own Parts and Capacity; but I do it because I really believe all those who can think at all (all who have any Reflection, and can think and compare) would do no Harm, if they publish'd their Thoughts on these Occasions; perhaps, as *in a Multitude of Counsellors there is Safety*, something might be collected from the many Reflections of Mankind, that may be of Use to those whose immediate Business it is to take Care, *Ne quid*

Detrimenti Reſpublica capiat. If what I ſhall offer may be of the leaſt Advantage, I ſhall not think my Labour loſt.

As to the Articles, the *Spaniſh* Articles I may call 'em, offer'd by *Curio*, the beſt Anſwer to moſt of them is, in my Judgment, to form Articles directly contrary to them; and they will probably be for our Intereſt, as theſe are directly againſt it.

Firſt then, with the greateſt Deference, I propoſe. That

1. We ſhall by no Means conſent to the recalling our Fleets from the Coaſts of *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies*.

Becauſe — Armaments of this Nature are the moſt proper to forward Accomodations between the two Courts; and becauſe 'tis probable his *Catholick Majeſty* may full as ſincerely enter into a Treaty while our Fleet is on his Coaſts; becauſe he muſt ſee we have Weapons in our Hands, and are on the Point of doing ourſelves Juſtice by the moſt vigorous Meaſures.

2. That while our Fleet remains on the *Spaniſh* Coaſts, Commiſſaries ſhall be ſent to *London*, with full Powers from his *Catholick Majeſty*, who, with Commiſſioners to be appointed here, ſhall, as ſoon as poſſible, or within adjuſt, liquidate

date and ſettle an Account of all Damages, Loſſes and Injuries which our Merchants have ſuſtain'd by the Veſſels call'd the *Spaniſh Guarda de Coſtas*, or any other Ships of his *Catholick Majeſty* in *America*, or elſewhere, from the Year to this preſent Year 1738; and likewiſe ſhall liquidate and ſettle all the Demands of his *Catholick Majeſty* on *Great Britain*, in full and ample Manner; and that the *Ballance* of this Account ſhall forth with be *paid* here, *on the Royal-Exchange* at *London*. And that his *Catholick Majeſty* ſhall not only make Reſtitution for all the Depredations his Subjects have committed, as aforeſaid; but likewiſe give Satisfaction to his *Britannick Majeſty* for all Inſults, Barbarities, Oppreſſions, and Indignities committed, by his Subjects, on the Subjects of *Great Britain*. This Article to be guaranty'd by the Fleet of *Great Britain*.

Becauſe—This is due to the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, to the Majeſty of the People of Great Britain, *and to common Juſtice.*

3. The Limits of the reſpective *Dominions* of their *Catholick* and *Britannick Majeſties* in *America* ſhall not only remain *Statu quo prius*; but his *Catholick Majeſty* ſhall explicitly, fully and ſpecifically renounce all Claim, Demand, Right, or Title whatſoever,

ever, to any of our *Colonies* in the *Weſt-Indies*, as likewiſe to *Gibraltar* and the Bay of *Campechy*; and that his *Catholick Majeſty* ſhall diſclaim and renounce all Pretenſions to the Reſtitution of Ships taken in the *Mediterranean* in the Year 1718. That the Fleet of *Great Britain* ſhall *guarantee* this Article.

Becauſe — The ſame Diſputes may continue, if we recur to Treaties; and we may be drawn in to play the ſame Game for ſome Years longer.

4. That all Pretenſions, Claim, or Demands, of what Nature ſoever, ſhall be as ſoon as poſſible adjuſted at *London*.

Becauſe — This is likewiſe due to the Honour and Dignity of his *Majeſty*; and becauſe our Commiſſaries have already attended this very Affair in *Spain* for ſome Years, at no ſmall Expence to the Nation, and without Succeſs. And becauſe our Merchants, for whoſe Relief this Commiſſion is intended, can, here with leſs Trouble and Expence, produce authentick Proofs and Vouchers for their Loſſes *London*, and reply to any Objections that can be made.

5. That we ſhall have free Liberty to navigate the *American* Seas. That our Fleet ſhall guaranty this Article.

Be-

Becauſe — They can enforce Obedience to it.

6. That *France* ſhall not be deſired to act as *Mediatrix* between the two Courts; and that her *Mediation*, if offer'd, ſhall be declined.

Becauſe — It may be the Intereſt of *France* to act contrary to the Intereſt of *Great Britain*; becauſe, if ſhe ſhould be now carrying on, by *pacifick Meaſures*, that Scheme for attaining univerſal Monarchy, which *Lewis* the *Fourteenth* attempted to bring about in vain by his *Arms*; this could not be effected without our Ruin in the firſt Place; and therefore we ought to be jealous of her Mediation.

An *Arbitrator* is never choſen, where it is apparently his *Intereſt* to be byaſs'd, and where his Character is ſuch, to be known to have always more Regard to that, than to Juſtice.

No Perſon, in civil Actions, is allow'd to give Evidence, much leſs to be a Mediator, where his Intereſt is concern'd.

7. That we ſhall, for the future, be allow'd all Benefits of Commerce to and from his *Catholick Majeſty*'s Dominions in *Europe*, or elſewhere, in as full and ample Manner as we have ever enjoy'd them; or as have ever been

been granted to, or are now enjoy'd by any the moſt favour'd Nation.

Becauſe — *Trade* is the Support of *Liberty* and *Power*.

8. That *Great Britain* ſhall be fully and immediately reimburſed, by his *Catholick Majeſty*, all the extraordinary Charges of the preſent Fleets, equipp'd to oblige her to do Juſtice to the *Britiſh Nation*. And that, from Time to Time, on any future Infraction of the Treaty, his *Catholick Majeſty* ſhall pay all extraordinary Expences of the like Nature.

Becauſe — This Article may prevent all future Depredations, on Pretences of *illicit Trade*.

9. And as Pretences of illicit Trade have frequently occaſion'd the Captures of our Merchants Ships, let it be agreed, for the future, that no *Britiſh* Veſſel ſhall be ſeized or taken on the Seas, under any Pretence whatſoever of illicit Trade; nor condemn'd as illicit Traders, tho' actually taken on the Coaſts, or in the Harbours, &c. of his *Catholick* Majeſty, before their Cauſe is heard, and the Condemnation agreed to, and confirm'd by a *Britiſh* Conſul, or Conſuls, to be appointed for that Purpoſe.

Becauſe

Becauſe — It is not proper that People ſhould be Judges in their own Cauſes.

Virginius finiſh'd. The Company generally join'd in a little Hum of Applauſe; and after that, immediately began to criticiſe what had been ſaid. Some thought this Article not full; another that it was not plain; ſome that it was too explicit; ſome that it was not explicit enough; ſome would add, others amend, and others take away. Thus the whole Company was ſuddenly ſubdivided into little Parties, and political Altercations on this Occaſion and Subject. *Curio* and his Friend ſtole away in this Hurry, but little obſerved, and jogg'd off in a Hack, in a moſt *Lion-like* Diſpoſition, to make an immediate Report at *Weſtminiſter*, of what they had heard in the City.

I now return'd to my Apartment, ſome what affected from the Sentiments I had heard on both Sides, which I could not conceive would in any Manner portend Good to the Publick; and tho' I could not think we were in ſo ſafe and flouriſhing a Condition, as we were repreſented to be in, by the Courtiers; I indulged myſelf in the Hope that our Circumſtances were not ſo bad, or ſo deſperate as the People without Doors generally apprehended them to be; yet in ge-

neral, I could not help being assured (which is the main Point) that no *Measures* could possibly extricate us out of the Difficulties we labour under but *vigorous* ones. The Honour, the Wealth, the Commerce of *Great Britain*, seem, in the Sentiments of many People, ready to expire; and that they cannot possibly revive, but by an Exertion, an immediate Exertion of our Arms. Let some People hold forth, and cant as much as they please about political and private Prudence, and Pusilanimity, when political Prudence will not suffer us to demand Satisfaction for a manifest Invasion and Violation of our Civil Rights it is Pusilanimity in the vilest, lowest Degree. Neither is it less silly, than it is impolitick, coolly to look the Enemy in the Face, compleatly arm'd, when he may have observed from more than one Experiment, that there is no Danger in our Threats.

When I revolve in my Mind the eternal Glory which our Ancestors atchieved abroad in Arms, the Laurels they brought home from every Quarter of the Globe, to to what a Height the Honour of our Country was carry'd, our Commerce protected and extended, the Wealth of both Worlds flowing daily into our Harbours, and that an *Englishman* was every where treated with

uncommon

uncommon Regard by Foreigners of all Sorts; when we from Time to Time made War, or gave Peace to the Nations, even to this haughty, ancient Enemy of *Great Britain*, the *Spaniard*; and when I conſider what we are now, I cannot help being warm'd as an *Engliſhman*, I do feel, on this Occaſion, an indignant Glowing in my Breaſt, and fancy I hear *Great Britain* complaining with *Anthony* in *Shakeſpear*.

* *I, that with my good Sword quarter'd the* Globe,
And o'er green Neptune's *Back with Ships made* Cities,
Condemn myſelf to lack the Courage of a Woman.

The whole Point turns upon this, whether or no, at the preſent *Criſis*, we ought, by *vigorous Meaſures*, to right ourſelves, or truſt to the Word of the *Spaniard* to right us? Whether every Thing valuable does not depend upon it? Whether the preſent Occaſion and Neceſſity, do not require and call for it loudly? As *Cicero* ſays, *Tempus Neceſſitas que poſtulat, decertandum Manu eſt, et Mors Servituti* Turpitudinique *anteponenda*.

The Merchants have been ſo ſucceſsful in proving this Point, that whatever Reaſons have as yet been offer'd to the Publick againſt

* Shakeſpear's *Anthony* and *Cleopatra*.

it, have proved the ſtrongeſt Reaſons for it. There may be ſome that are kept ſecret, involved in thick Darkneſs, and this the Creatures of the Great ſeriouſly aſſure us of; but what do they mean by the *Point de Raiſon*, in Politicks? Let them be implicitly yielded to by their ſervile Flatterers; I know not that we are obliged to believe in political Myſteries.

Let me cloſe what has been ſaid with an Obſervation made by an excellent Poet of our own. Were the Queſtion, ſays he, to be put in general Terms, which were to be preferr'd, War or Peace, it would be only to ask which were better, Sickneſs or Health.

* *Since War the Sickneſs of the Kingdom is,*
And Peace the Health; but here I do conceive
'Twill rather be; whether we had not better
Endure ſharp Sickneſs for a Time, to enjoy
A perfect Strength, than have it languiſh on us.

I have endeavour'd to give the Sentiments of the Gentlemen concern'd in theſe Debates, as near their own Words and Manner as I was able; but I am very ſenſible I have not done them Juſtice. There appears to be ſometimes a little more Heat than one could wiſh, which runs thro' their Diſcourſe;

* *Suckling's Brennoralt.*

when

when the Heart is warm, the Words will be ſo too; and ſometimes there is a Sort of Eloquence occaſion'd by this Emotion, which gives a Grace to what we ſay, almoſt equal to the Choice of our Words; and if Action be the chief Part of an Orator, as we are told, it is abſolutely neceſſary.

I had ſome Thoughts once of writing a Weekly Paper, intitled *The* MEDIATOR, wherein I propoſed to be ſerviceable to my Countrymen, by applying Lenitives to all their Party Prejudices, now and then intervening between their Paſſions and Errors; and where I met with chronical and obſtinate Diſeaſes of the Mind, there I determin'd to apply the Corroſive of my Ink, and expoſe them to the Cenſure of all reaſonable and honeſt Men. But as I was digeſting ſomewhat of this Kind, I found myſelf grow extremely warm, full of Prejudice, and obſtinate to a ridiculous Degree, which, in my own cooler Thoughts, render'd me incapable of the Office. There was likewiſe, to deal ingeniouſly, another Motive, which wholly determined me not to go on. I conſider'd, that one Party, whom I muſt in Juſtice be obliged to animadvert upon, as well as the other, had very ſharp Teeth,

and

and long Claws; and had not ſometimes Philoſophy enough to keep his Temper.

And now I conclude, by giving publick Notice to all Gentlemen Writers whatſoever, and others, who may be preparing to print Papers, intitled, *Anſwers*, *Replies*, *Obſervations*, *Examinations*, *Reflections*, or under whatſoever other Denomination they deſign to appear; particularly to thoſe candid and honorary Voters for Power, the *Daily Gazetteers*, that I am now preparing a full and clear Anſwer to this little Book myſelf, intituled, *A Converſation at Court*; and I hope they will not be offended that I take the Work out of their Hands; for I do undertake to ſhew them more Faults in this Piece, than they can poſſibly diſcover, tho' they labour to find 'em out with all the Forces of their Learning and Ingenuity.

F I N I S.